

853 A child was nursed for two years, even if
 862 a new baby were also nursing. Weaning was very gradual. The child was given acorn mush, and pieces of meat to suck, and "it liked those things better and wanted them all the time." Nevertheless, children up to four or so continued to seek the breast on occasion and were given satisfaction. K.G.'s little boy of five was gently pushed aside when his pawing was annoying to his mother, who was nursing an infant of some fourteen months.

861 Mothers talked to their children telling them what they must do. M.L. said naughty children were whipped. One suspects this was an innovation due to Mission influence; even today all Yokuts observed treat their children with a comfortable firmness of speech and manner which achieves satisfactory results without resorting to pushing, yanking, smacking, much less whipping, the young offenders.

844 There were certain beliefs concerning childbirth and children. It was lucky to give birth at the new moon: the child, whether male or female "would grow with the moon." If a woman was sterile, it was because she had played at intercourse with boys when she was a little girl (M.L.). M.P. attributed sterility to carelessness during menstruation: "if a girl eats meat at that time it makes something hard so there is no room for a baby." One of M.P.'s cousins was in such a condition until she "drank something" which cured her; she has had two children since. A Yaudanchi woman named O'mo "had no children because she ate too much meat" (L.).

845 Twins were not regarded as good or bad fortune, though they entailed special care, if they were to survive. If one twin died, the other was sure to. M.L. said that, if a woman had twins, her daughter or granddaughter would have them also. She had never heard of anyone, native or white, having triplets and, when told of the phenomenon, asked if it would not kill the mother. She herself expressed a physical fear of having twins.

Kinship Terms

601 The Wukchumni kinship terms have been withheld with others from this publication. As with all Yokuts, cross and parallel cousins were classed with siblings and called by the same terms. Therefore, any cousin of another relative (of the same sex) was addressed by the same term as that relative; thus, a father's sister's cousin would be addressed as father's sister, or a father's sister's cousin's child (ego's second cousin) would be called sibling.²²² Degrees of relationship beyond this (as third

²²²This made for much confusion in recording personal and genealogical data as most informants glibly used English "brother" and "sister" when speaking of actual cousins.

[P. 104a] Wukchumni

601 cousin) had no special term but were all lumped as ta'at'i (relatives).

A stepparent was called, according to sex, by the term for father's brother or mother's sister regardless of whether he actually was such or not. When it was necessary to distinguish a related stepparent from a blood uncle or aunt the word ni''udi (another) was added; thus, ni''udi komo'dis (another father's brother). The levirate was of frequent occurrence, the sororate known but less common. A stepparent addressed his stepchildren by the usual terms for offspring, although it was said he more often applied the general term a'hit (child), which was used by true parents for their children too. Step-grandparents were addressed by the regular grandparent terms.

The word go'ei (male friend) was used by a man for his wife's sister's husband. This was a general term for friend and was used rather indiscriminately. (It was used mutually between most informants and myself.) The word ta'naič (female friend) was used by a woman for her husband's brother's wife. It applied only to women and was used between M.L. and myself.

Puberty

881 During her first, second, and third menses, a girl ate only "soft food" (acorn and seed mushes) and drank only warm water. She did not retire to a separate hut, nor was the warm pit used. She was equipped with an old breechclout in which was a layer of shredded willow bark: the bark was buried as it needed replacing, and the clout washed. A scratching stick, which M.L. said was "just any little twig or stick," she used to scratch her hair or body. Her mother combed her hair each day; if she touched it herself it would split. Pre-adolescent girls could not eat quail: "quail would nest in their hair if they ate quail before their hair grew long" (M.L.). Poultices of hot mashed tam:k were laid on the abdomen and back to relieve menstrual pains.

[757] The girl's mother invited another woman and her son to come to the house: these guests remained one or two days. They brought with them gifts for the girl, perhaps a rabbitskin blanket (later Spanish blankets, pinshala [sic]), and beads which they hung about the girl's neck. 881
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[301] The woman combed the girl's hair and gave her quail-feathered ear plugs. In return the visiting pair received a large quantity of food. This little ceremony (witi lonuwis) was a kind of tacit betrothal: the boy and girl usually married eventually, but there was nothing defined, nor was there any return of gifts if they did not marry.

881 At the end of six days the girl swam in the river and resumed her normal diet. She returned to soft food and warm water during her next two periods. At ensuing periods only the

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582 would be called hokoi 'san yiwa' nái (sister marriage) and would evoke the scorn of all who knew of it. J.B. spoke contemptuously of two recently married young Waksachi who are second cousins. He added that he thought "people to the north" married their cousins. No special punishment was attempted in the old days when such a marriage occurred. The parents of both participants, having done their best to prevent it by verbal argument, would not, and apparently could not, do anything more. There was undoubtedly a loss of social prestige, but how far this affected the offspring of such a union cannot be said. The mere fact that informants could not formulate rules for these marriages is in itself an indication that commonsense entered, according to the particular circumstances. J.B. said that such marriages "never occurred with the Wukchumi" and, while there is no genealogical evidence to prove the contrary, we can scarcely accept a complete negative. No form of "uncle" marriage was known.

582 A man could marry where he wished, within the tribe, within his own village, and even a woman having the same family totem as himself, provided no recognized blood-tie existed. If he had been betrothed to a girl at her first menses, he might, were he old enough, soon seek her bed at night. But in doing so he committed himself to a serious union with the girl and to obligations in the provision of food to her family. For two or three months he rose early, going for the morning bath and thence to his parents' home for breakfast. During the day he would fish or hunt, taking the game to his wife's home and remaining there for the evening meal. If he did not go there he hung about the sweat house and slept there at night; this was especially true if the girl's home was already crowded.

This sojourn at the girl's home was looked upon as a temporary arrangement and rarely lasted out a year. If the girl became pregnant at once, she usually wanted to stay with her mother until her baby came (M.L.).

After that the couple moved either to the husband's home or to a house of their own. When gathering seeds, or on any other food-collecting expedition, the young wife joined her mother if it were physically possible. If she did not accompany her mother, then she did not join her mother- and sisters-in-law but attended to household tasks and helped in the preparation of the food when it was brought in.

584 It may appear that a young man and woman were wholly independent in their choice of a mate, and especially so in their married life. But the parents of both participants exerted strong personal influence. They frequently arranged betrothals at puberty and made every effort to see that the marriage not only took place, but continued. The parents-in-law and their brothers and sisters all called each other by the reciprocal term ma'kí from the time the betrothal took place.

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[P. 194 b] chuckchawsi

854 Small children went naked, but those of good family, i.e., not lazy, might have skins fixed as clothing. By the age of fourteen [both sexes?] clothing was worn. It was about [17] 1890 that European clothing was put on children.

857 Up to the age of eight or nine children played around, in and out of the house, with some, but not entire, irresponsibility. Both sexes played together in the family, even when older, but large numbers of village children tended to play in groups aligned by sex. Apparently it was the effect of numbers and the differing interests of boys and girls, rather than formality, which determined this separation. [55] N.W. did not know of any special, e.g., [60] plural, form of address between the sexes.

868 Little boys of six to ten would stay at home, would help carry wood and do odd jobs for their mothers or other people at home. Little girls of that age helped care for the tiny children. Children of both sexes at about this age (six to ten) would be taken out by older boys who were hunting to pack home the load. Sometimes the woodrats, squirrels, and birds would be tied around their wrists and waists, the loads would be too heavy, the rodents' [602] fleas would bite them, and they would all cry. [593] The little ones were always relatives of the bigger ones they were helping. When a father was late getting home with food, the children would be hungry and cry.

From about ten or eleven on boys and girls were taught the useful pursuits of their fathers and mothers. A man took his son out to hunt, provided him with better weapons as he became more skillful, showed him how to care for the game they killed, make bows and arrows, and collect pine nuts. A woman showed her daughter how to pound acorns, gather seeds, berries, and dig roots. She instructed her in their uses and treatment after gathering. A girl did not learn to sift meal, a more skillful task, or to cook until she was about fourteen. The art of basketmaking was begun from about ten years on.

[861] Parents made their children learn whether they wanted to or not (by what means?). The constant admonition was, that if they failed to learn they would go hungry in later life.

867 Old or childless persons also taught their young relatives how to do things. Particularly, 887 old people taught songs and stories.

787 Some children had dreams of supernatural significance, but normally a person did not commence shamanistic efforts until fully adult.

584 During these years of learning, say ten to fifteen, arrangements for marriage would be made by the parents. A girl's "bride price" would be accepted by her mother, a young man's future wife paid for by his father, and both young persons were then told of and entreated to accept the union. Actual marriage did not [582] take place until the girl was nearly twenty, however.

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The husband was termed loto'pnam (my husband), the wife, or any woman with whom a man had intercourse, yi'w'n. There were no changes in these terms after the birth of children.

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While chiefs often had two wives simultaneously in the same home, most men did not. Sterility was the most usual reason for taking a second wife, but sterility was rare. If on the advent of a second wife, the sterile wife "got mad and went home," the man let her go. The majority of spouses, male or female, were not overly concerned if the husband or wife had relations with others.

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When quarrels arose, the makši acted as peacemakers but, if they failed in their attempts to make a reconciliation, they remained on good terms. They did not return any of the prenuptial gifts. A definite divorce was called wai'kšina. When a husband went off to live with a woman other than his wife, it might be termed katnušu'sya (quarrelling [husband and wife]).

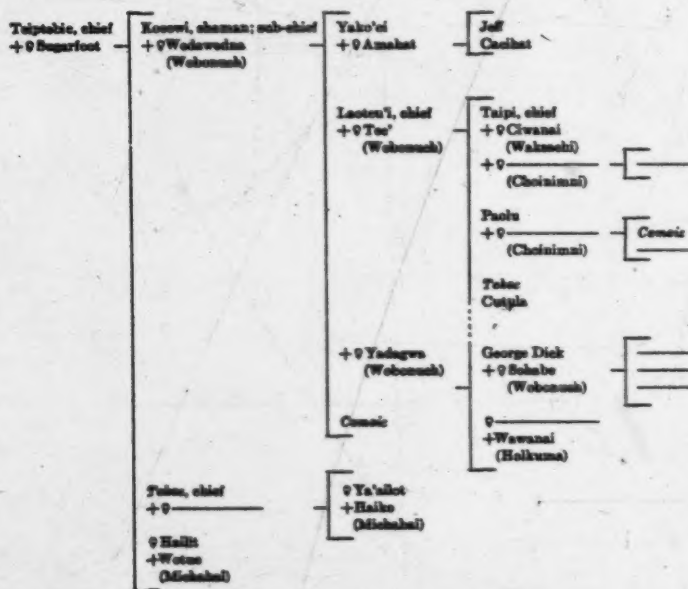
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The Waksachi B.O. said that parent-in-law tabus were not practiced and he laughed at the idea, but his statement is not compatible with opinions of other informants. He also said that a payment was made by a boy's parents to those of the bride, at marriage, but he could not define the amount or procedure. A girl was seldom married against her will, and afterward, "if she couldn't stand it," she went back to her parents, taking her children with her. Residence was usually patrilocal, but the couple had their own house near their parents-in-law.

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The Waksachi married among neighboring people to the north, south, and west. But they never married with Eastern Mono, even when a family or two of that group, having come for trading purposes, stayed on the west slope all winter. The reason, B.O. said, was "that they didn't want the yo'otc coming over here to stay."¹⁷⁴ The only trans-Sierra marriage B.O. knew of was that of X's son who got into trouble stealing horses, fled across the mountains, and settled there.

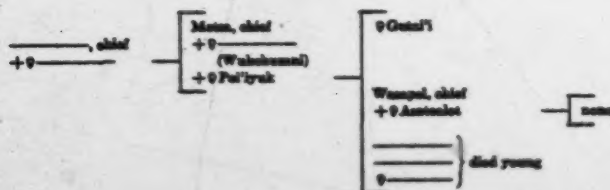
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B.O. corroborated S.O.'s statement that persons with the same totemic animal could marry, but said that cousins, even second or third, could not marry. A man seldom had more than one wife, but B.O. thought "people to the north" had three or four. He cited M.L.'s stepfather (Wukchumni) as a man with two wives. There also was a Yaudanchi doctor who had two wives; they were not sisters. He thought the Wukchumni had plural wives more often than the Waksachi. The sororate and levirate were commonly practiced by the Waksachi, but were not obligatory.

¹⁷⁴This sentiment is amusing since the Western Mono presumably came from the same source, evidently not many generations back, and probably by the same filtering process.

YOKUTS: ENTIMBICH



YOKUTS: TACHI



- 101 San Joaquin River, the Gashowu in Fresno County south of the
 121 San Joaquin River, and the Tachi in Kings County north of
 Tulare Lake. Of the Shoshoneana, the North Fork Mono live
 in Madera County north of the San Joaquin River, adjoining
 the Chuhehansi, but higher in the mountains and more to the
 east. The Inyo Mono inhabit Owens Valley, Inyo County, east
 of the Sierra Nevada. The Bridgeport Mono dwell in the vicin-
 ity of Bridgeport in Mono County, also east of the Sierra Nevada.
 The Tübatulabal occupy the Kern River region, and the Ka-
 waiisu, who speak a dialect of Ute-Chemehuevi, inhabit the
 Tehachapi Mountains.

616 The principal facts concerning social organization among the
 171 tribes, where positive data were obtained, are as follows:

The tribes exhibiting a moiety organization are the Chuk-
 chansi, the Gashowu, and the Tachi. The North Fork Mono
 have, instead of indivisible moieties, two phratries composed of
 two clans each. The other tribes appear to have no moiety
 organization.

- 171 Personal names among all of the groups, with the exception
 551 of the Bridgeport Mono and possibly the Kawaiisu, are usually
 meaningless; at least the Indians can give no interpretations for
 them. Furthermore, names are transmitted, except perhaps
 among the Chuhehansi, a child usually being named after either
 a living or a dead relative of the father. Frequently when an
 individual is named after a living relative the name is changed
 upon the death of the namesake. Miwok names invariably have
 very full meanings and are not transmitted. A majority of the
 Bridgeport Mono names also have meanings.

- 601 The kinship systems of the three Yokuts tribes (Chuhehansi,
 171 Gashowu, and Tachi) resemble closely in application the Miwok
 system, which is described in detail in the forthcoming paper
 on Miwok moieties. The characteristic features are, first, the
 possession of but one term for grandchild, one for grandfather,
 and one for grandmother; second, the grouping of cross-cousins
 in two generations, one older and one younger than that of the
 speaker. On the other hand, the kinship system of the North
 Fork Mono on the western slope of the Sierra Nevada is quite
 unlike the Miwok and Yokuts systems. It is almost identical

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with that of the Inyo Mono and the Bridgeport Mono, who live east of the Sierra Nevada. These systems are characterized by a distinct term for each of the four grandparents; furthermore, the same term is applied by the grandparent to the grandchild. Cross-cousins are classified as brothers and sisters, hence in the generation of the speaker.

The names of the moieties among the Miwok are kikua, or water moiety, and tunuka, or land moiety. The three Yokuts tribes (Chukchanai, Gashowu, and Tachi) examined employ the names nutuwie (also given as nutuwuts) and toxelyuwie for their moieties. Like the Miwok moieties, the Yokuts moieties are exogamous. A child belongs to the moiety of the father. Among the North Fork Mono also descent is paternal, but there is no rule of exogamy. A child belongs to the clan and to the phratry of the father, and may marry within his own clan or not, as he chooses.

The names of the two phratries of the North Fork Mono are pakwihu and yayantei. The pakwihu phratry is subdivided into two clans, tūbahinagatu and puzaots. The yayantei phratry is composed of the two clans dakats and kunugetei.

The arbitrary division of nature into two categories, "land" and "water", is a feature of the Central Sierra Miwok moiety complex. The land side of nature is associated with the land moiety, the water side of nature with the water moiety. The water moiety (kikua) of the Miwok finds its analogue in the nutuwie or nutuwuts moiety of the three Yokuts tribes mentioned, and the Miwok land moiety (tunuka) finds its analogue in the toxelyuwie moiety of the Yokuts tribes. Among the Yokuts tribes certain animals are associated with each moiety, but it has not been ascertained that the whole of nature is divided and associated with the moieties as among the Miwok. In the Miwok organization the connection between moiety and animal is through the personal name, each individual being named after an animate or inanimate object. The eponym, however, is not transmitted to the descendant as a rule. Among the Yokuts tribes and the North Fork Mono, where personal names are meaningless, the connection between animal and moiety or phratry is naturally not through the personal name.